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THE
PRIVATE
SENTIMENTS
OF A
Member of P-----t.

In a Letter to his Friend in London.

Wherein the Grounds of our Duty
and Submission to His present Ma-
jesty are stated and defended; and
some useful Remarks made on the
present Posture of Affairs.

Νόμῳ, καὶ δεκτῇ, καὶ τῷ σοφωτέρῳ εἰναι. Χρήσιον.
Legi, Principi, & Sapientiori cedere, Pulchrum est.
Dem.

LONDON.

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WILLIAM



THE P R E F A C E.

WHoever attempts to moderate our present Divisions, shou'd (in particular) endeavour to divest himself of all manner of Partiality, and direct his Judgment by the Rules and Standard of Truth, with regard both to his own Information, and the Sentence he is to pass for the benefit of others.

How far the Author of this following Treatise has qualify'd himself by these Measures, I leave the World to judge, without interposing my own Opinion, because Prejudice, and my great regard for him, might possibly have inclin'd me to think too favourably of him.

Were we indeed acted by the Rules of our Duty, and not those of our Affections, and cou'd distinguish the different Influence they have on our Principal Actions, there wou'd be no occasion to interpose a Plea against our present Resentments, and attempt the Reformation of Mankind in this Point, upon the strength of

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these, or such like Observations. And as I am satisfied of the necessity there is to inform those who are either ignorant or negligent in an enquiry, what Things are justifiable, what allowable, and what our Duty requires, towards an upright and honest Deportment ; so am I persuaded, that the Dignity of the Subject, adds a peculiar advantage to useful Directions, as the Measures of Christian Knowledge and Attainments transcend the Prudence and Policy of this World.

With regard to this difference, our Author seems to have conducted himself in the following Researches ; and has delivered his Sentiments upon a variety of important Subjects, with great brevity and plainness, and in Terms which set forth and declare, both his Modesty and his Judgment. And since he has indulg'd me the favour of perusing his Observations and Remarks, with a farther permission to communicate them to the World ; I thought I wou'd do much Justice to my Religion, to my King and my Country, as to forward the mutual Interest and Advantage of each, by a Publication of these necessary and well meaning Truths. I dare engage for his Veracity likewise as well as his Judgement ; and know him to be such a lover of Truth, and so desirous to entertain and follow after it ; that in an Affair of this sort, he wou'd not stifle, what even his Adversaries can alledge against him,

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him, with a design to delude the Ignorant, and gain their assent to what he delivers, by a false, subtle or sophistical Account. Some undeniable Instances of this Truth we have in the following Sheets; where the Author gives the full force to the Objections which are made, by the recital of them in their proper places. As in the Case of the Pretender: He does not stifle or deny any Testimony concerning his Birth, &c. tho' at the same time he abundantly exposes the unwarrantable Inferences which were drawn from thence. So likewise at the time of the Revolution; he acknowledges what was very undeniable, that there was Resistance used against King James by Some of his own Subjects; but then he shews that the Subsequent Government was not founded on Resistance; nor the Doctrines of our Church, Condemned or Sacrificed, to favour those who did resist, and by a beautiful hint, gives us to understand the necessity and usefulness of the Bill of Indemnity, to all those Persons who were concern'd in it. I need not insist any farther on the Honesty and Plain-dealing he has shewn, which I shou'd be surprised to have urg'd as an Argument against him; since its the only Method to quiet all our Divisions, by hearing the utmost each of the Contending Parties can say, and fairly representing their Arguments in the best Light they can bear.

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He has undertaken, in the following Treatise, an honourable Defence of His Majesty's Title, in an Historical Account of our Constitution since the Great Rebellion; and points out to our Consideration the Duty and Submission we owe to Him, both by the Law and the Gospel. He has undertaken likewise, by way of Apology, a Vindication of our Primitive and Orthodox Church, from the several Attempts of its avow'd Enemies, and the more threatening Dangers from False Brethren. And I doubt not but the genuine Sons of the Church of England, to whom he appeals, and from whom alone he looks for Acceptance, will defend the necessary Doctrines he has deliver'd, and by the Weight of their Reasonings, both from the Press and the Pulpit, improve the following Hints in such a legible Character, that by a conviction and sense of their erroneous Opinions, of their dishonourable and dangerous Resentments, our Fellow-Subjects may be kept within the Bounds of Duty and Submission; which as they are the tenderest Methods of Restraint, so are they the most likely to prevail, most agreeable to Christian Compassion, and the Divine Example of the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who went about doing good, and in a moral as well as natural sense, giving Eyes to the blind.

The Stile he has treated these things in, is plain, easy, and natural: His Method is more agreeable to that extempore Diction which his

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Station has rendered somewhat habitual to him, than the Rules which Criticks have laid down, for a correct and elaborate Composition. I own I shou'd be fond of some few Corrections, both in the Style, and the bold Truths he has advanc'd, which my deference to his Judgment intirely prevents an alteration in; and upon the strength of that also I do believe, there may be a particular use in some of his transient Reflections, which may appear very trifling at this present Juncture. This I may very confidently affirm, that he neither has, nor did design to offend against the Church or the Crown, whatever Clamours may be rais'd by the Enemies to both, who wou'd gladly, under that disguise of Friendship, have the Author and Treatise condemn'd. Some perhaps will term it Malicious, others False, or it may be Foolish, and pre-engage the Opinions of those who never read it, to do the like. But as he seems to desire no Applause from any, and only aims to give Assistance to the Judgments of weak, or negligent, or deluded Persons, from an unknown Hand; so am I truly convinc'd, that whoever reads the following Tract with that Impartiality which becomes him, will meet with great Satisfaction, to see Truths deliver'd from Obscurity and Disguise, and Information tendered after a very affectionate manner, to the Minds of others, and possibly to his own.

As

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As for any Objection which may be drawn from the unseasonableness of this Treatise, I am very well disposed to give Satisfaction in this Point, and to answer those Objectors who have no other Arguments against it. In the mean time, let us reflect on the Obligation we lie under at all times, to the utmost of our power, to forward and promote such useful Knowledge, as has a direct tendency to improve our Morals, and regulate our Behaviour, in the several Stations, which the Providence of God has allotted us.

I have had Thoughts of Dedicating this to some Noble Patriot, or Honourable Fellow-Member, whose Intimacy and Converse with our Author has been very well known to me; but I am unwilling to exceed the Directions He has given me, and think it not proper to delay the Publication, till I might have receiv'd an Answer, from so remote a part of the Kingdom. I can't say that I am Commissioned to make known to what Community he belongs, tho' I have thought it just to Print the whole Letter to me as he sent it, which plainly shews him to be a Member of P— but this I can say, that he has not followed Mr. Steel in assuming a Legislative Capacity without doors.

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I have nothing more to add, but by Request to the Reader, whether of the Clergy or Laity, to examine, and pass Sentence for themselves on the following Tract. And I have reason to expect, that such Extensive Concern for the Honour and Interest of the Church, such veneration for the Person and Safety of His Majesty King George, and that true regard to the Publick, which the Author has so largely shewn; must unavoidably meet with a candid reception, from such as are well-wishers to the Peace and Quiet of these Kingdoms, as he has justly intimated in his Remarks.

As for my part, I wish that I cou'd in any Instance shew my self with greater Respect, and by any Method contribute more to advance the Good of our excellent Constitution, than in the satisfactory allowance of publishing, what I think in my Judgment and my Conscience does in many Instances, tend so directly to advance it.

The P U B L I S H E R.



SIR,

SINCE I was chosen a Representative for the City of —— I have retir'd to my Study, where I generally entertain my self with the small Collection of Books, your Judg-
ment and my own have recommended to my leisure Hours: But upon turning over several of them, I found my Thoughts so much taken off by the present posture of Affairs, and the Busi-
ness of the ensuing Session, that I cou'd give no manner of Attention to the Beauties of Poetry and History, nor to the solid Reasonings of those Divine and Moral Authors I so frequently con-
verse with in your Absence.

Upon enquiry into the disrelish such extraordinary Entertainment met with, I found that *Politicks* and nothing else wou'd go down with me; and I so far

B indulg'd

indulg'd my Humour in what I so very seldom admit into my Retirement, that I thought the best Method I cou'd take (to prevent the jumble of confus'd Ideas, upon the great variety of Occurrences which presented themselves together to my view) wou'd be to consider them singly and abstracted from each other; and by that means come to a tolerable Judgment upon the whole, by the due consideration of every particular Branch.

I revolved them over in my Mind separately, but soon apprehended the necessity of reducing them to Writing, and by that means to Order; I have therefore penn'd the following Remarks for my own Use, and have sent you the very Originals, to know your Opinion of them; which I will allow you to communicate to any of your Friends, or even to the Publick if you approve of them, and judge them in any measure capable of doing Service to those, who either want Capacities or Leisure, to examine with Impartiality, the present state of Affairs.

But that I might give you a thorough Insight into the foundation of my Remarks, I judge it very advisable to state to you the Grounds upon which I apprehend His Majesty King *George's* Right-

Rightful and Lawful Title to the Crown of these Realms is establish'd, and whence that Duty of Submission and Obedience arises, which I am willing and desirous to pay him, *not only for Wrath; but also for Conscience sake.*

I shall therefore intreat you to accompany me first in a Review of the state of Affairs, atleast as far as the Reign of K. *Charles* the Second, that by some General Observations, we might take an impartial survey of what we called our *Constitution*, and the several Steps and Introduction to that mighty alteration of Affairs by the Revolution in 1688, which with its Formation, Progress, Advantages, Settlement and Continuance amongst us, to the Time of His present Majesty King *George*, shall be the Second Thing I shall treat on; and lastly, I will from the forementioned Considerations, collect some few Dispositions necessary to be regarded towards a right Judgment and Improvement, by the following Remarks.

First then I am to look back to the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, to take a right view of what we then called our *Constitution*, &c.

This is indeed a Field so very large, that a Man may almost ramble in it his whole Life time, without ever coming to the Bounds : I must content myself therefore in this Enquiry, to observe some few of the most material Occurrences of his Reign, and to admit of Probabilities, calculated for Conviction, not Demonstration ; and pay a due deference to the Judgment of Persons whose Abilities and Integrity were never question'd. I mean not here to treat of all the particular Rights and Privileges either of the Crown or People, but only in the General to observe,

That upon the Return of His Majesty to His Hereditary Claim, He was welcom'd by His People with a general Acknowledgment of the Injustice done to Him, an abhorrence of the Principles Introductory to such Practices. And by an Act of Parliament pass'd with the most unanimous Consent of Both Houses, it was declar'd, " That

*Act. Anno
12 Car. II.
c. 30.*

" by the undoubted and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers " nor the Commons, nor both " together in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively " or Representatively, nor any other " Per-

“ Persons whatsoever, ever had, have,
 “ hath, or ought to have any Coercive
 “ Power over the Persons of the Kings
 “ of this Realm. , , And the Church
 of *England* maintain’d the same Noti-
 ons, upon a full Review of its Articles
 Homilies, Canons, Rubricks and Litur-
 gy. This, with Oaths and Subscripti-
 ons, *That it was not lawful, upon any*
Preterce whatsoever, to take up Arms
against the King, was look’d upon as a
 firm and lasting Security to the then
 Possessor, and those Persons who, by the
 Laws of the Land should have the Su-
 preme Authority, from time to time,
 vested in them.

It were endless to enumerate the Contests I observe in King *Charles* the Second’s Reign, between Him and his Parliament, nor shall I make any mention of the Pensioners of the *Long Parliament*; nor the Usage that Good-natur’d Prince met with from the Baseness of Sycophants, and Arbitrary Tempers of some of his Prime Ministers. The last Scene of his Reign is of much more use in our present Enquiry, to examine with Caution and Regard; I mean what concern’d the Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, from Succeeding to the Crowns of his Brother. Upon the

great Countenance and Favour shew'd to the *Papists*, by the Court, and the variety of detected Plots to confirm the Sons of the Church of *England*, in the dismal Apprehensions they had of the danger from that Quarter; they several times address'd His Majesty in Parliament for redress in that Affair, and propos'd very mild and gentle Measures at first, for the Security of the *Constitution*, both in Church and State.

But the Papal Interest bearing such great Sway at Court, and receiving such vast Countenance and Encouragement from His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*; the King, by several Impolitick Steps, such as declar'd his great unwillingness to relieve them in any kind, very much encreased the number of Persons disaffected to the Measures then taken by the Court, and enquirers into the direct tendency they observed, towards the Introduction of Popery.

Upon which they several times debated Measures for Excluding the Duke of *York* from the Crown, which the House of Lords not accepting, the Majority of the Bishops prevented by the backwardness they manifested in joining with the House of Commons, in Measures so visibly for the Interest of our

our Excellent *Constitution*. And here let me assure you, that by all that my Memory, and my frequent Conversation at that time and since, can assist my Judgment, I cannot perceive that the Lords, either Spiritual or Temporal, or the Advocates for the Duke in the House of Commons, *insisted* (whatever may be pretended) on the Divine Indefeasible Right the Duke had to the Crown in Reversion, or such an absurd Contradiction to all Law and Reason, that the King, Lords and Commons, who were thus join'd, (the true Sovereign Legislative Authority of the Nation) cou'd not exclude the Duke from the Claim, which, upon all Hands it was agreed, he only had by the Laws of the Land. Such Notions of a Divine, Hereditary, and Indefeasible Right to the Crown, had very few, of either Honesty or Sense, to keep in Countenance even at Court, whatever 'Sir Robert Filmer, and some few Proselytes he had made, cou'd Write or Say in favour of it. Indeed I do not remember any Person of Note, who, tho' it had been mentioned in the House, spoke in favour of that Notion, with any tolerable Gravity, when we were so intent upon the Exclusion Bill in the House of

mons, 1680, except D. F. the present Earl of N——m, whose Speech I very well remember, and which I then wrote down; part of which was as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

SIR, I will not say that *Acts of Parliament* cannot dispose of the Succession, because it was made *Treason by Statute*, in the 13 of Eliz. which I do not remember was ever repealed: But I will deny that the Kings of England Rule by virtue of any *Statute-Law*, as was suggested; for their Right is by so ancient a *Prescription*, as that it may justly be said to be from God alone, and that no Power on Earth ought to dispute it. And I am of Opinion, that the Succession to the Crown, is inseparably annex'd to proximity of Blood; and therefore am not yet alter'd in my Opinion, that if this Bill shou'd pass into a Law it wou'd be of it self Invalid, &c.

I own, I was then, and should still be at a Loss, to reconcile the Inconsistency of this Speech, had not that Noble Person since reconcil'd it by his Actions, and by some further Proofs which I am unwilling to relate; whereby he resolves all into the Power of the Laws.

Having

Having thus run through some parts of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, and made some transient Observations on what I thought needful, for giving me an impartial View of the Right, Power and Authority, which it was, even then, thought the Kings of *England* had; I need not take up more time to relate the Death of King *Charles* II. the Duke of *York*'s coming to the Crown; his Behaviour to his Council and Parliament; the High Commission Court he set up; and his Arbitrary Behaviour to his Subjects; and his Claim for a dispensing Power: All which, though they were Grievances of the first Magnitude, and Violations of his Oaths, Promises and Engagements, we who held ourselves obliged, by what the Scripture and our Excellent Church had delivered in this Point, and the Confirmation and Submission it received by the Laws, our Oaths and Subscriptions, could not think of any Measures to redress, but by the Dependance we had on the Favour of Almighty God; who in his own good time vouchsafed us a Remedy, and pointed out to our Acceptance a Deliverance, by that Revolution of Affairs in 1688; after the Kingdoms of His Majesty King *James* II, were invaded (if I may so say) and

and possessed by His Highness the Prince of *Orange*. Which was the Second Point I designed to treat of.

When that unfortunate Prince King *James II.* had given himself up to the sole Management of those Papists, who were such Zealots for his Cause in the time of his Brother, and had manifested much Sincerity to him in the Business of the Exclusion Bill; he fell into such destructive Measures to the *English* Constitution, as was felt and observed by the meanest of his Subjects. And yet when the Duke of *Monmouth*, and those few Rebels who adhered to him, made an Attempt at his Crown and Dominions, there was such an universal Abhorrence of the Treachery, shewn and declared by his Subjects, as soon put a stop to that base and unwarrantable Project, by the unpitied Fall of that Pretender. I must own, when I reflect on this wild and mad Design, I am somewhat amazed to account for that heighth of Folly, in aiming at such an Enterprise, without any tolerable prospect of Success therein; his Numbers were so very small, and the Rebels who joined him but an handful: *Argyle*, who begun the Attempt, rash and desperate, and

and known to want Conduct and Prudence, nay, even Dr. *Burnet* was not able to give much Assistance to that Affair; so that it seems to me very reasonable, to impute the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invasion to the treacherous Advice of the Earl of *S----d*; who, tho' unable to compass the Ruine and Destruction of his most indulgent Master, at that time, yet, by the means of his Falshood, and his Hypocritical Behaviour, so far won on that good Natur'd Prince, as to insinuate the vilest Advice, under the Umbrage of Sincerity; and to put him on such Arbitrary and Repugnant Measures to his Interest, as involved him into the greatest Difficulties imaginable; so that when he was made obnoxious to his Subjects, and his Councils and Designs made known to his Enemies, by the means of an arch Villain, he was Invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, with a foreign Power, and many of the King's Subjects (who wou'd take it amiss to be call'd Rebels, and false to the Principles enjoin'd by our Holy Religion, the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and which they had every Man sworn in the most solemn manner to observe) join'd him on his Landing, and welcom'd him with a kind and generous Reception. Its true, whilst

whilst we look upon the Declaration of the Prince, who protested he came not to Dethrone the King, nor to have any Design on the Crown, it may not admit of the Term here given, of an *Invasion*: And whilst those of the King's Subjects, who so early met the Prince of *Orange*, believed him in his Declaration, and kept within the Bounds of Duty, to their Lawful Sovereign, by honest and well-meaning Designs, I can't see what Charge can lye against them, to denominate them Rebels; but where were these? ----- In short, whatever Design the Prince of *Orange* came on, or upon what justifiable Grounds the Subjects of King *James* took part with him, I know not; nor is it material to my Enquiry. As to the Penalty from the Laws, the Act of Indemnity secured them; but for Security from — they must look to it themselves; and in that Day wherein Justice will be done to all Men suitable to their Deserts, they must give an Account at the Bar of Heaven, before an upright and impartial Judge; who is acquainted not only with the Actions, but even the secret Thoughts and Intents of those Men.

Blessed be GOD! I was not of their Number! I say, let it be Justifiable or not,

not, I enquire not now; but the Matter of Fact is what I am now upon. When, therefore, King *James* found himself Betray'd by those he confided in, and an Enemy in his Quarters; when he observ'd so great a part of the Nation join a foreign Prince, whose Designs, he apprehended, were to destroy him; not attributing much to the filial Obedience of the Prince, nor those ties of Nature and Duty, which dull Moralists recommend; he sent to my Lord *Feversham* to disband his Army, and left him, as well as the rest of his Subjects, to shift as well as they could for themselves, and betook himself to private Means of withdrawing to *France*. But when he was discover'd and brought back, somewhat against his Inclination, yet there was an universal Joy spread over the Face of all his Subjects, at the Return of this Prince to *Whitehal*, from beyond *Jordan*. *London*, and its Inhabitants, thought nothing too Great and Magnificent to welcome their Rightful and Lawful Prince, in his Triumphal Return through their Streets; the Night was deliver'd from Darkness, and Satisfaction set uppermost, in the midst of all their Entertainments. But their Enjoyments were soon at an end upon that Score;

for,

for, after he had in vain proposed Terms of Accommodation to the Prince, containing most extraordinary Condescensions, by the Earl of *Feversham*, who was made a Prisoner after a very unbecoming manner, the King, either by a Message from the Prince, or Apprehension of Danger, went away from his Palace, without substituting any Government; and, as it was afterwards term'd, he abdicated the Throne, and made the best of his Way to *France*. This timorous Dereliction of his People, who immediately before had shewn such remarkable Instances of Fidelity and Regard to him, left us under the most strange Anarchy and Confusion, and involved even his faithful Friends and Subjects in the greatest Difficulties. Had he, at his going away from us, directed our Obedience in his Absence; or left a Claim behind him to secure his Right; or even at his Landing sent over a Demand, or interposed in the unanimous Desire of all his Subjects to the Prince of *Orange*, to take the Government of Affairs upon him, somewhat might be urged in his favour; but so it was, that even those very Bishops (particularly *Archbishop Sandcroft*) who refused afterwards to take the

the Oaths to King *William*, join'd in the Request to the Prince to take the Administration of Affairs upon him. But of these misguided, inconsistent Gentlemen, I shall treat particularly anon.

I have not made mention of the then Prince of *Wales*, tho' the Order of Time requir'd it; because I wou'd not break into the close connexion I am satisfy'd there was between the attempt of *Monmouth*, and that of the Prince of O——e; those who first set on foot the one, and were disappointed, lived to accomplish the other, in spight of Law and Articles of High Treason exhibited against them: I cou'd appeal to my Friend the B. of *S----m* for the Truth of this Remark, which is one of the most meritorious Acts related of himself in his *Secret History*. But, whatever hand this Historian may have had in it, he was but an Underling; and I can't be satisfy'd, that he and His Holiness the *Pope*, settled this Matter, as it's commonly thought: It requir'd the Baseness and Villany of a *S—d* to carry on the Design with Success; and I question not but he had a General to assist him in the Management of this Affair, though it was not much talk'd on then, who, in contempt of all Honour and

and Gratitude, betray'd his Master at that time, and one wou'd think, has made it a Principle of his Behaviour ever since to serve all his Successors after the same manner. Indeed any one that remembers the Debates on the Bill of Exclusion, and the often mention then made of the Prince of *Orange*, as the Guardian of our Liberties; and a proper Person to superintend the Government of King *James*, when he should come to the Possession of the Crown; can doubt of the Encouragement given to him, and the Expectations which some Great Men had from the Prince, of his becoming a Glorious Deliverer of these Nations; and that *Monmouth* was only the Advance Guard, and made a Sacrifice to try the Bent and Inclination of the People of *England*.

But, that I may not omit speaking to the Business of the then Prince of *Wales*, who was Born *June* the 10th. 1688. I remember very well, that from the time the Queen was first reported to be with Child, there were Persons who set themselves to doubt of it, without the least shadow of Reason. In short, the Queen was notoriously known to be with Child, and all imaginable proof was made of it, by the joint Depositions of Persons

of

of Quality of undoubted Credit, as well *Protestants* as *Papists*, and of both Sexes; and that *James*, then Prince of *Wales*, was taken from her Body; and all this Inroll'd in *Chancery*, &c. Whereupon, as Joy resulted to the honest People of *England*, so was the King congratulated hereupon, both from his own Subjects at home, and all Foreign Princes in Amity with him; particularly by the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who had the then Prince of *Wales* prayed for in their Royal Chapel, where Dr. *B — t* officiated. Nothing cou'd give the least umbrage of Suspicion concerning his Birth, but the Hatred and Malice of his *Presbyterian* Subjects, and the Folly and extravagant Joy of the *Papists* to counterballance them. Indeed the P. of *O.* for Reasons best known to himself and the Jesuitical Doctor who accompanied him, tho' in *Holland* he owned him for Prince of *Wales*, yet upon his Landing he alter'd his Mind, and by Command of the Doctor he was omitted to be pray'd for at *Exeter* and other Places: It has puzzled me, I own, to account for this assum'd Jurisdiction; and unless the Pope had delegated Authority to him, and made him his Vicar-General in *England*, (as some suppose

he is yet) I can't for the Soul of me conceive, by what Power he alter'd such a momentous Affair, and cancel- led all the Authority, which Right, Law, Religion, and Conscience might have pleaded to to the contrary.

Good God! what monstrous Disposi- tions accompany Enthusiasms? We were also told by the Prince's Declara- tion, that He would make it appear very plain, that the Prince, which 'twas pretended was born of the Queen, was an Impostor purposely set up by the Papists, to supplant the Princess in Her Claim to the Crown in Reversion. This was to be done, whenever a Free Par- liament was call'd (which I very much question was never since return'd) but behold the Success of this Boast; it served a Present Turn, was a means of in- gratiating Him with the People of *Eng- land*; but was there ever any proof at- tempted to the contrary? Were not the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends call'd upon very frequently afterwards, to make this Matter out? I do not lay much stress on this any way; for, I only relate Matters of Fact. In short, there is no reason to deny him to have been the Son of King *James*, for few or none doubt of that Matter. What has been

been said I could farther Illustrate from the Testimony of General Stan---pe, who in a Speech made not many Years since, says, The true Object of the Doctrines of *Jus Divinum*, &c. is a *Prince* on the other side of the Water; and from the present Bishop of S—m, who has justly asserted, that if the Doctrine of Unalienable, Indefeasible, Hereditary Right, takes place, Q—
 A— had no Title to this Crown, and her being Q—, *de facto*, without a better Right, was but a softer Word for an Usurper. (*Vid. Speech.*) But above all, there is one passage in the Bill for Attainting him of High Treason, wherein is this Expressi— *Vid. Bill.*
 on, That *He having acted*
contrary to his said Duty of Allegi-
ance, &c. the meaning of which I
 can't otherwise understand. When the
 Prince of O— was landed as above,
 and King James in the foremention'd
 Condition, He sent his Queen and the
 Young Prince away, which has prov'd
 the total excision of Him, from a
 Right to these Crowns ever since, as
 shall be observed anon. The King him-
 self soon follow'd; and having thus
 derelinquish'd his Crown without any
 deputed Government, and withdrawn

himself from the Administration of Affairs, by a Spontaneous Abdication, and removed also the supposed next Heir, the then Prince of *Wales* his Son; the Lords and others joynly addressed his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, to take on him the Administration of Affairs, till some Method was thought on, for Restoring them to the former Kingly Government; which they thought a Parliament might best Regulate, and He had some seeming Right to Summon, by vertue of his Wife's Claim, as next Heir after the Abdication of King *James*, her Father, and the Prince of *Wales* her Brother. But the Prince, though he then by vertue of that Claim, took the Management of Affairs, yet thought it more adviseable to summon the Convention by Circular Letters, than to issue out new Writs for a Parliament, it being equally in his Power, for the Law had made no Provision for either Case; for the want of the Executive Power, to give Life to the Dead Letter of the Law, incapacitated him, whatever his Princess might have done, from issuing out Writs for a New Parliament.

Well! the Convention met, but by what Authority I am at a loss to tell: then,

there, after a vast Catalogue of Grievances, they very solemnly declar'd (what was really true if they had not) that King *James* had been an Infringer on the Rights and Liberties of the People, had Abdicated the Government of these Kingdoms, and that the Throne was actually vacant; towards the filling whereof they thought on several Methods, but at last it was agreed on, that the Princess of *Orange*, being the next Heir, that had not Abdicated, they desired that she would accept of the Government, and the Prince should likewise partake of it; so that all Matters being fully Weighed, and the *Momenta* on both Sides Considered, they Desired and Voted, the Prince and Princess of *Orange* King and Queen of *England*, &c. not that they had a Power, if they had been legally Summon'd, to give the Crown to them, but only declared the Throne vacated by King *James* and his Son, and consequently the Princess of *Orange* was Rightful Sovereign of these Kingdoms by her Hereditary Claim, and by that means cou'd admit of the Prince to a Copartnership, which she did. In confirmation of which Matters its observable, that at the summoning of the

first Parliament, Queen *Mary* Signed the Writs, tho' the intire Administration was declared and vested solely in the Prince (as much as could be) by the Convention; which was made a Parliament.

Thus lawfully have we traced the Right of the Prince and Princess of *Orange* to the Crown of *England*, where placing them on the Throne, let us turn our Eyes somewhat on their Administration. And here I could enlarge upon several Remarkable Things, which I observe in their Reign; but they being foreign to my present Enquiry, I shall only take notice of the Settlement of the Crown on the Prince of *Orange* after the Demise of the Queen, and so on to His present Majesty, and what Alterations our Government underwent by this unprecedented turn of Affairs. When the Parliament had confirmed all the Acts of the Convention, they were then admitted into the Body of our Laws, for before that they were thought to stand in need of that Confirmation to give any Sanction or Life to them. The Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, was to have the sole Management of Affairs in his Hands, as has been observed already, and if he out-
liv'd

liv'd Queen *Mary*, He was to have the Crown during his Life, and the Remainder settled on the Princess *Anne*, our late Queen, &c. It could not be expected, that every one should submit to this new Government without Demur and Hesitation; and had some Bishops and other Lords, attended the Business of the House of Lords, without any Scruple of the Legality or Illegality of the Convention, I can't say what wou'd have happen'd; but in all probability, King *James* wou'd have return'd to his Throne. And to any Person who remembers that time, or even reads the Conference at the Convention, which is pretty fairly wrote on both Sides, he may see what Difficulties some Great Men, I could name, were put to, to stop the Torrent of the exasperated Party, and to regulate their Designs, by the measure of our Religion and Government: Particularly the Earl of *N* —— gain'd such great applause in the Defence of Truth and Injured Innocence, as has not been Obliterated by any passionate Resentive, or unaccountable Behaviour since. And we may herein read such a Lecture of Prudence and Circumspection to the wisest of Mortal Men, that they may not confide in the

strength of their own Parts, or the general Esteem the World has them in, to such a degree, as to think the Grace of God, and the powerful influence of his Spirit beneath their imploring and search after; for had we regard to the Directions given us in the revealed Will of God, and founded such Principles thereon, which Reason, (not Interest or Passion) upon a due enquiry, wou'd recommend; I am satisfied that what was Law, Reason, Religion, and our Conscientious Duty in 1688 could not be defac'd, by the Revolution of Twenty odd Years.

But to return. There were at this time some Bishops and others, who thought they had already exceeded the Bounds of their Duty, and were very desirous to draw back the Compliment they made to the Prince of *Orange*, to take the Administration of Affairs upon him; especially when they were informed of the Design of King *James*, to make an Attempt for the recovery of his Crowns, and of the great Assistance which *France*, and the Roman Catholicks in *Ireland*, were likely to contribute, for the carrying on this Design.

So that from acknowledging the Government of King *William*, and Praying for him without any scruple, for a considerable time, they fell off from the rest of their Brethren, and wou'd neither Pray for King *William*, nor take the Oaths which were enjoined to be taken by them. I will not say, that they all continued praying for him, till the Oaths were appointed to be taken ; but this I can, that many, and those of their Leaders, did. However, when the time for their taking them, which had been prolonged out of Favour to them, was expired, they departed from their Sees, and from their Flocks, without any demand of Obedience, from those under their Jurisdiction, and gave their own People leave to shift for themselves as well as they could: Nay, their own domestick Chaplains and others, were not call'd upon to accompany them, nor to adhere to them either in Opinion or Practice. So that by this tacit Dereliction of their respective Charges, even without any Force or Violence used, to deprive them of their Spiritual, much less their Temporal Employments and by setting up Conventicles in the Diocese of *London*, and *Altar against Altar*, they made a very great Breach in the Unity of

of the Church, and opened such a Door for Schism, as I am sorry these nice Observers of the Unity of the Primitive Church, and the Foundation on which it is built, have not been able to discover in their own case; but uncharitably imputed Schism to us, who call ourselves the true Church of *England*, as we really are; and have perpetuated their Separation beyond *the Case in Fact*, (vid. Dcdwell) viz. the Death of the last of those separating Bishops. Thus much may be justly said for them; that by retaining Episcopacy, even in their Separation, they have not cut themselves off from the visible Church of **CHRIST**, as others who have renounced Episcopacy, seem to have done. The Ministra-
tions perform'd by those Men are valid, by reason of their Commission, which those others want; and we ought to behave ourselves with great Compassion and Tenderness towards them; as hoping in **GOD**'s own time we shall unite again with so great a Number of those we acknowledge a Spiritual Relation to. Whatever may be urged on the Behalf of those who took Oaths, &c. to King *James*, yet I can't perceive with what colour of Reason (except their Chimerical, Divine, Indefeasible Hereditary Right,

Right, which seems to be absurd) Persons who never did so, or perhaps were Born since, can join with them in their Separation. Let them take this Hint to distinguish between the Right of King *James II.* and a Pretension to that Right, which his Son makes, but never enjoy'd, as his Father did: This they never distinguish upon a false Judgment in the Laws of *England* and this Maxim, *That the King never dies.* I will say but one word more of them, which is this, that in the space of time which they thus enjoyed, by their withdrawing themselves from their respective Flocks, they have added great Light to Antiquity; and by their useful Labours in Apostolic and Ecclesiastical Affairs, have done a lasting Honour and Service to the Church of *CHRIST*, and the Cause of Truth: Witness those Monuments of Piety and Learning recommended to the World by Dr. *Hicks*, Mr. *Nelson*, *Kettlewel*, *Spinckes*, &c.

But to return. The Affairs in *Ireland* wou'd draw me beyond the Compass of my Design, shou'd I enlarge upon every Thing observable, and enquire whether King *James* or King *William* was King *de facto*; and consequently, which Intitled to the Obedience of that Kingdom at

at that time ; and whether Estates forfeited by those who took King *James's* Part, be agreeable to the Sence of the 11th of *Hen. VII*, and to Law, Honour, Religion and Conscience. But thus much I may say, that the Parliament of *England* thought it was very justifiable. I have also another wide Door opened to me, if I thought proper, and that is, the Controversies then on foot, concerning the Grounds and Reasons for and against our Submission ; particularly the performance of a Reverend Prelate, who in his Pastoral Letter recommended Obedience to that Government, on the Notion of Conquest, which the Parliament not approving of, they committed to the Flames. The Bishop I remember, Good GOD ! what a Medley of a Man he is, then gave a very satisfactory Account of that whole Matter ; says he, in a Letter to a Friend of mine, " Mankind " are strange unaccountable Créatures ! " I have labour'd more abundantly than " the whole Nation put together, to " bring the Revolution to bear ; and " have here offer'd them the only Me- " thod for putting an end to our uncha- " ritable Divisions ; by which means, " those who had a hand in opposing the " Arbitrary Power of King *James*, may " have

" have shelter against Conscience, and
 " the Censure of the Laws ; and those
 " who did not engage therein, may be
 " induced to think charitably of those
 " who did. What is the Foundation of
 " this present Government ? Resistance,
 " which, according to you, is Rebelli-
 " on, it can't be imputed to ; because
 " the Prince of *Orange* was not a Sub-
 " ject of the King' of *England*, neither
 " those Forces he brought with him :
 " Nor did the People of *England* rise in
 " Arms in a Warlike and Rebellious
 " Manner, and oppose the Forces of
 " King *James* ; they only went to wel-
 " come the Prince of *Orange*, for his
 " kind and generous Endeavours to have
 " a free Parliament called, &c. Besides,
 " the Church of *England* condemned
 " the resisting of Lawful Authority,
 " before the Revolution, she does the
 " same to this Day ; and consequently,
 " (unless you will suppose she designs a
 " Reflection on herself, which I know
 " she does not) she maintains, that the
 " Revolution was not founded on the
 " resisting Lawful Authority. So that
 " to fix this Matter right, believe me,
 " it was thus, and you may term it what
 " you please. When the Prince made a
 " Descent into this Kingdom, and had
 " been

" been met and kindly receiv'd by such
 " a great number of People of all sorts,
 " he really did take the Government on
 " him (after King *James* run away from
 " us, out of regard to his Creatures,
 " who only were to be called to an Ac-
 " count for the Male Administration of
 " Affairs) without any Authority vested
 " in him by Law ; for consider, who
 " gave him the Authority he Exercised?
 " or who cou'd, or had power to give it?
 " What do you now call this? The People
 " of *England*, who met in the Conventi-
 " on were fully satisfied of this Truth ;
 " and you may thank some Men I cou'd
 " name, who, out of Regard to the
 " Church, and Monarchy of *England*,
 " and to preserve you in your Rights and
 " Liberties, devised this Chimerical
 " Notion and Claim of Right, which
 " the People of *England* had as a free
 " People, to dispose of themselves, at
 " least upon such an Emergency, as the
 " Dereliction of their King ; tho' in less
 " than thirty Years before, they had in
 " the most solemn manner disclaimed all
 " such Power; and you may be satisfied,
 " that glad they (who knew of this
 " Matter) were, to find the Prince of
 " *Orange* would accept of the Crown
 " from their pretended Donation. So
 " that

" that I look upon all and every one of
 " the Acts of the Convention to be
 " groundless, notwithstanding their
 " Pomp and Solemnity; and the very
 " Law required, that they should have
 " the Sanction of a King, Lords and
 " Commons, before they were in Force,
 " so that pray now tell me, who made
 " the Prince of *Orange* King? I have
 " shew'd the Convention cou'd not: So
 " that there is no way left but that of
 " Conquest, or his Claim by his Prin-
 " cess, which I own is the only Diffi-
 " culty with me; but yet take it upon
 " which of these two Foundations you
 " please, and you must be satisfied of the
 " Submission due from you to the present
 " Government." I hope this long Ob-
 servation of the Bishop's may as power-
 fully satisfy others, as I assure you it did
 the Person he wrote it to, and by the
 Strength of his Arguments stop the
 Mouths of Revilers, who throw *Resi-*
stance in the Face of the Church of *Eng-*
land, and upon that groundless Founda-
 tion build foolish and absurd Schemes,
 for the power of the People. The 13th
 to the *Romans* is still in force, notwith-
 standing the Revolution, and is not ex-
 punged out of any Edition of the Bible,
 that I know of, whatever Mr. *Hoadly*
 and

and such Creatures say to the contrary.

I come now to observe, (tho' without Connexion) that towards the latter end of King *William's* Reign and on the Death of that hopeful Prince the Duke of *Gloucester*, it was thought by the King and People of *England*, advisable to review the Settlement of the Crown, after the Demise of His Majesty and the Princess *Anne*, and the Heirs of her Body, &c. and by unanimous Consent of King, Lords and Commons, there was an Act passed, in the last of the King's Reign, that the Remainder shou'd come to the Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body, being *Protestants*, &c. So that when Queen *Anne* came to the Throne, instead of altering or breaking in upon that Settlement, as undoubtedly She and her Parliament, by proper Steps, might, if they had any Design; there were several Acts passed in favour of that Family, which it were needless even to enumerate. So that when that remarkable Instance of Piety and Devotion, that Indulgent Parent, and true Guardian of our Rights and Liberties was taken from us, by a short and fatal Sickness; His Majesty King *George*, who now Reigns, was proclaim'd with universal Joy, and had scarce then an Ene-

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my among the *British* Nation to encounter.

As to the Tryal of Dr. Sacheverel; and the Resolutions taken thiereon, I might have mention'd it before, but can observe nothing but Party Malice in its Formation and Progres, and nothing that lays any manner of stress on the present Enquiry. It's true, the principal Grounds of the Impeachment were pretended to be, his maintaining the Duty of *Non-resistance* in any Case whatsoever, and by that means condemning the Revolution. But I think nothing asserted by the Managers, or even allow'd of by his Council, affects the Constitution in any wise. I own it shew'd the Thoughts and Intents of the then Ministry and Parliaiment: but we know upon what Hinges that whole Matter turn'd, and that Clamour against the Church, and those true Sons thereof who dared to preach these severe and self-denying Doctrines; Party Zeal, actuated by a præternatural Malice, and the joyful Prospect of the Downfal of Priestcraft, (as it was term'd) were the animating Principles of these Mighty Champions for Liberty and the Laws. And what was given up by the Doctor's Council, makes nothing against the Do-

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ctrine he defended, since they knew it was in vain to offer at any Pleas for their Client, which wou'd be unacceptable at that time; and since they look'd upon themselves as obliged to make a plausible Defence, either by yielding in some measure to what was most stuck at by the other side, and saying what they thought only absolutely necessary to the present Occasion. So that I shall now begin to wind up my Bottom, and gather such Observations and Dispositions from what has been said, as is necessary to accompany me towards a right Judgment and Improvement by the following Remarks: Which is the *Third* Thing I have undertaken.

And *1st.* I am well assured, from what hath been already observed, that I am not to esteem every Person as an Usurper, who comes not to the Throne by Proximity of Blood; as in the Case of King *William*, before Queen *Anne*, &c. That Law of the 13th of *Eliz.* which was acknowledged by the Advocates for the Duke of *York*, to be then in Force, and which is farther strengthned since, by several Acts in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, declaring that Authority in the Legislative Body of the Nation, is suf-

sufficient to satisfy us in this Matter, and so repugnant to the very Foundation of Jacobitism, that he must be very blind who cannot discern and apprehend its Force; so that by thus lopping off that strange, Absurdity, That the Kings of *England* have a Divine, Indefensible, Hereditary Right, Prior to, and Independent of all Human Laws, we shall soon come to a Decision of a very great Controversy; which, so far as it is maintain'd by Principle, not Self-Interest, and by Men of Sincerity, and in the Search of Truth, is the chief leading Argument, and the first Proposition in their own Defence, which they think they can demonstrate.

2dly. I observe that King *James* having withdrawn both himself and his Son, the then Prince of *Wales*, and left no Government nor Claim behind them; his Daughter the Princess of *Orange*, had the best Pretensions to the Crown, and by her rightful Claim in such a case, prevented either the Notion of Conquest, or the Exclusion of the Royal Family; and must in all Reason and Equity, be deem'd a rightful and lawful Claimant to the Crown; which she did possess by virtue of that Claim, and entail'd it on

the Prince of *Orange* and her Sister, &c. by her Legislative Authority in Parliament.

3dly. I observe, That His Majesty King *George*, who now Reigns over us, has, upon the foregoing *Postulata*, an undoubted Right and Title to the Crowns of these Realms. For, since the Alteration and Limitation of the Succession, is within the Verge of the Legislature, which its really nonsense to deny, and King *William* and Queen *Anne* have, by several Laws enacted in Parliament, established the Succession in the present King, &c. No Proposition in Nature can more clearly follow than this, that he is Rightful and Lawful King. Whatever Force this Argument may have with those who denied the late Queen's Right, I can't tell; but this I am sure of, that it must be allowed of by all those who acknowledged her for Queen; there being no manner of legal Right wanting in him which she claimed by. For if, as according to the Jacobites, their Chevalier St. *George* was King of *England*, by vertue of his Proximity of Blood, to King *James* II. Queen *Anne* was not the Rightful Queen; so allow of her Right, and

and the present King's will as unavoidably follow. And therefore,

4thly. Let me remind those who call themselves *Tories*, and signaliz'd themselves, as they really did, by a Just and Honourable Deportment to her late Majesty; that the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, upon which their Dutiful Submission was founded, are as much now in force as they ever were, and by Right of Succession belonging to, and transferred to his present Majesty King *George*. The Statute of 12 Ch. II. Cap. 30. abovemention'd, was never repealed that I hear of; the Doctrines of *Hoadly*, and those inconsistent Wretches, never establish'd nor allow'd of by the Church of *England*, but as you bravely maintained the Truth in the last Riegn, in defiance of those bold Innovators, so I hope you will continue to add strength to His Majesty's Title, by the keeping up to that Doctrine, which your own Writings have so fully proved, to be Conscientious, Reason and Law,

5thly. I must observe, That those Persons who separated from the Communion of the true Church of *England*, were guilty of that Schism which

the Breach of Unity has made. I am unwilling to repeat what has been before observed, and heartily concern'd, God knows, to make the Observation, were it not requisite towards the Defence of our Orthodox and Sound Church. And let me here direct all those, who stand up in Justification of those Persons, and think that their continued Separation and Behaviour, such as is agreeable to Conscience and Law; to look into themselves, and know, upon what sincere and allowable Principle, they conform to what those Separatists, cannot upon a Rational Ground submit and conform to. Let them also enquire, whether they think the Terms of Communion, propos'd by our Church, both of Admission and Continuance in her Society, be carefully observ'd, by a compliance in some Points, by joining in the belief of some Doctrines, and dissenting in others; by joining in some Prayers, and not in others; and accommodating Things to their own Sense, and not accepting of them in the Sense of the Imposers; I say, let them carefully consider these Points, and the necessity of a full assent to our Liturgy, &c. to free us from Hypocrisy, and to preserve us in Communion with our Bishop,

Bishop, without which, according to the general Sence of the Primitive Church, no Man cou'd expect the Recompence of Reward hereafter, no, tho' he Dy'd a Martyr in the Defence of some important Truth. For my part, I can't see why, according to the Latitude of their own Principles, a Man may not Communicate with the Church of *Rome*, kneel to an Image, and express the greatest Marks of Reverence and Respect at the Shrines of her Saints, without being guilty of any Sin ; for their Hearts and Tongues may differ, their Posture may not imply Worship ; and, whatever that Church may suppose, G O D will regard their Intent, and the Means are sanctify'd by the goodness of the Cause, and the justifiable End they proposed.

Lastly, Let me observe, that Men are not to be reputed Enemies to this Government, who believe, that the Chevalier St. *George* is really the Son of King *James* the Second, and yet maintain, that Hereditary Right, not set aside by Lawful Authority, is a just Title to the Crown, and what denominates our Monarchy an Hereditary Monarchy. By which Title of *Hereditary Monarchy*, we are not to

understand, as if any Person was incapable of possessing the Crown Rightfully, who had not Proximity of Blood; for this is contrary, both to Law, Reason, and Matter of Fact; but it implies, that upon the Demise of any Prince, the People are directed to set the Crown on the Person pointed out to them by Birth and the Law, (as in the Case of His Royal Highness *George Prince of Wales*, when His Majesty Dies;) and not presume to Elect or Set up Persons who have no Claim, and obliged solely to their Donation for a Title.

Men are generally led to have a right or wrong Notion of Persons, by the bare hinting the Belief of the abovemention'd Truth; but you see the consistency of that Notion with the Law, and the Right of the present King.

And I challenge any Pen upon Earth, to state me rational Grounds for the Justification of, and Submission to the present Government, upon any other Foundation, but the abovementioned Resistance, which the Laws before the Revolution term'd Rebellion, may not be admitted herein; a Forfeiture of the Crown by King *James's* Male Administration, is the height of Frenzy and Nonsense, and tho' Dr. *Higden* has very learnedly

learnedly and judiciously shewn that Kings *de facto*, by Custom and constant Usage, are entitled to Submission, and their Legislative Authority acknowledg'd by the Laws of the Land, yet he has not, as I think he shou'd, attempted to prove the Right and Legality of the late Queen's Title, and the justifiable Steps by which she ascended to the Throne.

I have not in this Enquiry found any thing in sacred Scripture, concerning the Kings of *England*, as some have pretended to have done; neither have I had an extraordinary Revelation to me, of the nomination of any particular Person or Family; and since no other Pretence but that of Nature and the Laws of the Land remain, I have fairly shewn, and can more fully, that no Man has that Right by Nature to the Crown of *England*, since an uninterrupted Succession cannot be proved, unless the Law vest it in him; so that to pay our Obedience rightly we should find out that Person pointed out to us by the Law, and their Executors and Expositors, which I have proved to be His Sacred Majesty King *George*; to whom, by the Grace of GOD, I will pay that Lawful Tribute of Duty and Submission, which the Gospel directs me to render to that *Cæsar*, whom

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the Laws of the Land acknowledge to be *Cæsar*.

I have thus run through a great many Passages in the several Reigns, since the Great Rebellion ; and upon some General Heads made such Observations (which every one's Judgment may further enlarge and improve) as may assist me in the discovery of my Duty to the Powers that be, since they are Ordained of GOD. I am not sensible that I have transgressed against the Temple, or against *Cæsar* and the Laws, in what I have so largely treated on ; if I was, I assure you the Principles of my Duty, would forbid the Communication of these Sheets to you or any other Person, with the permission to Print them. So that if any thing I have wrote shou'd give Offence, if you should publish them, I am ready to be inform'd and convicted by Reason and sounder Arguments, from any Quarter ; and to satisfy all those who misunderstand me, or impute any ill Design to the Allowance I have given you herein.

I have nothing more to add to what has been said, but this, That in such Enquiries as I have been on, no Man can expect Satisfaction in every Particular, which amounts to a Demonstration ; but

but only such, as is best recommended by Reason, Religion and Law, upon some *unprecedented* Cases; and has the greatest Force to challenge the assent of an impartial Enquirer. It may not be possible to answer all the Objections a Man's own Judgment may make, and am not I to be satisfied till I can fully answer all Objections? This I am confident of, Mortality, endued with Imperfections and liable to Error, can scarce attain to; so that we must satisfy our selves by the best Informations we can get, and adhere to what seems really and sincerely to be the Truth, and most free from Errors and Absurdities: This, with the Application of every devout and honest Enquirer to the Throne of Grace, for the Irradiating and Illuminating our Reasoning Faculties, by the Influence of the Spirit of GOD, will prevent any dangerous Errors, be the best means to assist us, and to acquit us in our Tryal at the Resurrection of the Just.

I am now to proceed to the Remarks I have already mention'd, which shall be free from Reflections on any particular Person, and such as I judge no way unbecoming my Station to make.

I. *Remark.* That there are at this time great Divisions amongst us, which if not speedily accommodated, will prove very destructive to our *Constitution*, both in Church and State.

This is a self-evident Truth, which requires no time to demonstrate; it will become us much better, to contrive some Methods to avert the Danger, which seems to threaten us from so many Quarters. And therefore,

II. *Remark.* The present Constitution, both in Church and State, as guarded and defended by so many excellent Laws, as are now in force, is to be strictly and religiously adhered to, by all the Wellwishers of our Peace.

This is apparently the Duty of every Honest Man, and which (at least a pretence to it) is look'd upon by all so necessary, and acknowledged to be the sole bent and tendency of their Actions. But lest a Disguise shou'd pass upon honest People (who never were Courtiers) for Reality, it will become us to enquire, severally, by what particular Steps this is to be performed, and how the present Government, as justified, and the Measures of our Submission to it stated

stated in the foregoing Sheets, can best be preserved and supported, to the Honour of His Majesty, and the Good of all His Subjects. Now, by reason of our non-admission into the Secrets of State Affairs, and the several Steps which are to be proposed by the Court, we are not capable of judging positively what will be proper for us to assent to, till we are acquainted with what they design to propose; I shall therefore, in the mean time, lay down some negative Propositions, and, by the blessing of God, I will not so far betray the Trust and Confidence reposed in me, by those I represent, as to yield to the destruction of the Church and Nation, in any of the following Particulars. And therefore,

III. Remark. Since the Danger is more apprehended than felt, and the Grounds of our present Divisions are chiefly in a dangerous expectation, from the Ignorance of some, and the base and selfish Designs of others, I will not come into any Measures destructive to the Crown and Nation, which are permitted by the Ignorance of the one, or carried on by the Designs of the other.

That

That I may best assist you in these Remarks, I will not insist any longer on the General; but shall proceed to the Particular Negatives I design to lay down, when I have observed only thus much, That whatever Clamours are, or have been vented about, against the Court and Ministry, are very unbecoming, since there has not any thing been so much as advised, by the Ministry, which is directly contrary to the Laws of the Land, however indirectly, and in their consequence they may prove to be so, both with regard to the King and his Kingdoms: For, pray, among other Clamours, had not the King a Power of displacing who He pleased, upon his Arrival, and after what manner he thought fit: And is it more than what other Monarchs in *Europe*, and other Parts of the World do to this Day. I believe indeed that the K---g, at his Arrival, did not look upon the D____ of O____d as his Friend, and discharged him from his Service after a Foreign manner; but the whole Kingdom, notwithstanding his Disgrace, (if I may so term it) look'd upon him to be more firm and constant to the King's Interest, and freer from sinister Designs than any General upon Earth. But this proceeded from want of a Right know-

Knowledge of so Great a Man, on the one side, and the Self-Designs of others, who had the advantage of this Step. I shall not stay to illustrate the reason of my Remark in any farther Instance, though there are very notorious ones, which the behaviour of some has afforded me; but shall only add, that I can't look upon it as agreeable to His Majesty's Interest, nor to the Peace and Quiet of *Great Britain*, nor *Ireland*, that Persons, who for the loss of their Limbs, or who were disabled in the Wars of King *William*, and were put into Civil Employs, with Patents for Lives, in requital for past Services, shou'd be turn'd out, to gratify the Malice, Ill-nature, and Resentment of any Man alive, except of His Excellency the Earl of *S——d*.

IV. Remark. Since Noise and Numbers generally prevail, and carry any Point in Debate, I will not side with any Party, nor join with them in one single *Yea* or *Nay*, till I am assured, that the Question is founded on Reason, and for the good of my Country, not for the carrying on of private Designs, or the administering to the Interest and Passion of Leaders.

The

The usefulness and advantage of this Remark will evidently appear, by referring you to the general Practice in former Parliaments, particularly in King *William's* Time ; especially when we consider the Resentment of some Leading Men, towards those who have gone before them, and have had such opportunities of exposing them, and passing Votes against them, as Enemies to their Prince and Country. I need not descend to Particulars, when some Principal Persons of Note are a standing Instance of this Truth.

V. Remark. Since by the Act of Settlement no Foreigners are to be admitted to Places of Trust and Profit, I will not be for the repealing any one Limitation in that Act, because I am satisfied it will be the greatest Prejudice to the King and his Interest, and the most effectual Step that can be taken, to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his People from him.

Towards the explaining and confirming this Remark, I need only referr you to the Times of King *William*, when such vast Grants were made to Foreigners, as were an Eye-sore even to their Friends, and tended very much to lessen the

the King among his *English* Subjects. I need not mention the several Enquiries by the House of Commons, into the Grants of King *William*, and what Attempts were several times made to resume them ; I shall only say, that the *Act of Succession* passed with more ease, and less opposition, upon this very Consideration, *viz.* That when ever any of the House of *Hanover* shou'd come to the Throne, it shou'd not be in their Power to employ Foreigners, and make over such monstrous Grants to them, as was done in the Time of King *William*. I will not therefore be for removing *Foundations*, nor do that Injustice to my Country, to open such a Flood-gate for Foreign Inundations. And besides, on *Aswēndesday* I was at Church, and said *Amen* to this Imprecation, *Deut. 27. 17. Cursed is he that removeth his Neighbour's Land-Mark*; which I can't so readily forget in the space of two Days.

VI. *Remark.* Since by the necessity of our Condition, we were obliged to make a Peace with *France*, upon the best Terms we cou'd get, and those such as were approved of by the whole Nation ; I will not be for casting Reflections on the late Queen and Her Ministry, till

I am fully assur'd, by Proofs, not Conjectures, that we might have obtain'd better Terms; which I yet apprehend is but a Blind to amuse the Nation, and to involve us in a new War, under pretence of obtaining better.

I have not time to state the necessity of a Peace with *France*, from the miserable Condition the Nation was then in, by reason of our heavy Taxes, unequal Burthen of the War in all Parts, and the unjust distribution and management of its Treasure. As to the Terms we obtain'd, they have been thought reasonable and advantagious by the Queen, Her Council, Parliament, and the united Address of the whole Kingdom: And I am very confident, that whenever this Matter is fully enquir'd into, there will appear such a heap of Infamy and Disgrace on some Great Persons who obstructed the whole Progress of it, the most they cou'd, and sollicited the whole *Posse* of *Holland* into some dishonourable Measures; that the very Names and Titles of those Persons will become a Reproach, whatever seeming Greatness and Honours they have attain'd to. If Ministers in the late Reign have sold their Country, and taken Bribes to bind us to dishonourable Terms of Peace, in the

the Name of God, let them be sought after, and I will forward their Punishment to the utmost of my Power; but shall we pass Votes against them without Hearing, or a Trial: No, I will not, for fear this shou'd be at bottom, a Scheine to introduce a new War, or to give the King a wrong Notion of the Judgment of the whole People of *England*.

VII. *Remark.*: Since the Kingdom is so much indebted upon account of the last War, and that our Condition is so miserably represented, even by the King's own Proclamation for calling this Parliament, I think it more becoming us, to find out amicable Measures for Relief, than to have Thoughts of bettering our Condition by a War; and therefore a War, and *especially a Land War*; shall be the last expedient I will come into for that purpose.

The former part of this *Remark* is confirm'd by Authority; and that the worst means we can think of redressing ourselves by, is a War, especially a Land War, is so evidently interwoven with every Man's Judgment, who is capable of forming a right Notion of our Constitution, that nothing but Self-Interest can possibly reconcile the very

Thoughts of it. indeed, considering our Situation, and the Defence even Nature has provided in all Parts, except that of Trade with Foreign Nations, our utmost application shou'd be, to secure our Trade and Commerce with them, and to guard our Coasts by our Fleet, from Invasions or Interruptions in our Commerce. But this makes nothing for a Foreign Land War; all that can be said for which is, that its fighting **for** our Neighbours, and enriching our Generals and Officers. Put the Fleet under good Regulations, and then I will agree in any befitting Measures for its support.

VIII. *Remark.* But since as I have shewn there is no necessity for a Foreign Land War, and that a good Fleet will answer all our Wants, I am the more surprized at the general Talk of a standing Army, which is the most amazing Absurdity in the World; and which, upon a knowledge and judgment of the Interest of *England*, I know to be repugnant thereto, and will, with my utmost diligence and application, oppose.

As to the necessity of a Standing Army, I declare I can't see the least Colour or Pre-tence

tence for it. And as to the mischievous Consequences which may possibly attend it, I will not here transcribe what I remember to have read in King *William's* Time, but shall refer you to the solid Arguments of *S. Johnson, &c.* who, I am sure, were admirers of the King and his Measures, as much as any Men then alive, and had no other pretence to Merit or Favour. I cou'd draw up a long Catalogue of Misfortunes which wou'd attend the Consequence of a Standing Army, if I thought there was any Foundation in the Design; or cou'd so far look upon the present Ministry, to be lost to all sense of Honour and Regard to their Native Country, which, I assure you, I do not, and take to be a very groundless Clamour against them.

IX. *Remark.* Since the Treaties for Trade and Commerce with *France, &c.* have not been adjusted to the Satisfaction of all Persons, I will not discountenance any Attempts for bringing the State of our Trade before us, in a Regular Manner; nor obstruct any amicable Measures for Accommodating Differences, and Regulating these Treaties, by Commissioners, or such like

Means; to please any self designing Person whatsoever.

This Business of our Commerce, I think, requires the most united Endeavours of the whole House, considering what vast Advantages we lose, and the *Dutch* enjoy, by the present Circumstances of our Trade. If we can bring Matters to such a pass, as to Trade with *France* upon equal, if not gainful Terms, I see no reason why we shou'd not close with such a Regulation. As to entring into a War for obtaining better Terms, I wou'd only ask these Persons, Upon what Terms wou'd they Trade with them, besides what are already allow'd of? But I will not now speak more to this Point, till we have enquired into one particular Article, previous to that Question, which I shall insist on when this Matter comes before us: In the mean time, I will not be led to think worse of that Treaty than it really deserves, which will only add to the groundless Clamour against the last Ministry, and be serviceable towards carrying on some ill Designs in — —

X. Remark. Seeing the Nation has frequently called upon Pay Masters of the Army, and other such Persons, thro' whose

whose Hands the Treasure of the Kingdom hath passed, to state their Accounts, for these several Years last past, and have not had satisfaction therein; I think it such a piece of Justice to the Kingdom, to have this Matter well enquired into, that I will not permit any such Debtors to the Nation, to impose on us, by False or Fallacious Accompts; or suffer them to have their Accompts pass the Audit by their particular Friends, or any other Person that I suspect will favour them.

Were we to enumerate the several Persons who have thus cheated the Nation by a false Account, or such as have, by the dint of Party, and large Sums, run thro' a pretended Audit, I fear I might offend some Persons yet alive, who are concern'd in the truth of this *Remark*. If there shall appear no such Persons the Remark is needless, and can't be obnoxious; but if there shou'd be such as have denied that Justice, towards satisfying the Nation, and will make strong efforts to pass them by an Audit of their own appointment, I think there may be some regard had to the *Remark*, and to the Grounds and Reasons upon which it is founded.

XI. Remark. That Dissenters, and all the Schismaticks in the City of — have united their utmost Force against me, to throw me out of the Favour of the Electors of Members to serve for that Corporation; for which I have served as a Representative in Ten several Parliaments: It may therefore be expected, by them and those of their Party, that since they have carried their Point in so many other Places (tho' not in this), something may be done in favour of them, and to the prejudice of the Church of *England*; but I am resolved to come into no Measures for the encouragement of Schism, under pretence of *Liberty of Conscience*, nor betray or lessen those Rights and Privileges which the Law has so very becomingly annexed to the Church of *England*, as by Law established.

I own it has given me some uneasiness to think, what can be the meaning of the Behaviour of the *Dissenters*, *Quakers*, and all such *Enthusiasts*, at our Elections: For notwithstanding their Sanguine Notions, let me assure you, it woud turn so much to the Prejudice of His Majesty and His Illustrious Family, to attempt any Innovation in their Fa-

Favour, that I can't see what they can expect from that Quarter ; or that any one Member of the House shou'd be such an Enemy to his Prince and Country, as to encrease our Divisions to such a monstrosous and dangerous heighth, as the least step against the Church Party will unavoidably bring upon us. As for the Liberty the Law indulges them in, I am not for restraining them therein : Nor do I understand that part of His Majesty's Declaration which mentions *Liberty of Conscience*, as any Prognostication of an enlargement of favour to them, beyond what is already tolerated by the Law. His Majesty, as well as all the other Princes of the World, knows the advantage of Union in Matters of Religion ; nor is the Carelessness and the Disregard had to Religion in *Holland*, any Grounds for us to proceed by the same Measures ; considering the different Policy of our Nation, its Customs, Manners, and the general Bent towards Decency in Matters of Worship, which the *Calvinists*, and these their Spawn, do, in all Parts of the World, revile and object against.

XII. *Remark.* Since, out of Regard to the Church of *England*, and to our excellent Constitution, Dissenters of all sorts are to be kept within such Bounds as may incapacitate them from doing us any Mischief; I will not obstruct any Equitable Measures which may be thought further needful, to defend our Constitution from the *Papists*.

My Grounds for this present *Remark* is, the Clamour of the increase of *Jesuits*, *Priests*, and others of the *Popish* Religion, which was so industriously spread abroad by the *Presbyterian* Emis-
faries, in the Reign of our late Graci-
ous Queen; and tho' I have very good
Grounds to look upon it as a designed
Calumny on the Queen, and to believe
it, as I do, as false as the rest of the
Scandal they heaped upon Her; yet I
think the allowance of that Mode of
Worship, and the Idolatry of that Super-
stitious Church, to be dangerous in
several Respects, and becoming the Wis-
dom of the Legislature to enquire often
into their Numbers and Behaviour, in
order to keep them also under good Re-
gulation.

XIII. Remark. Since in the foregoing Sheets I have proved the Title of His present Majesty, and stated the Grounds for our Submission and Duty to Him; and since by all the Tyes of Oaths, &c. which the Laws have super-added, that Person who takes upon himself the Title of *James III.* is abjured by all the Conforming Subjects of *England*, I will not refuse to come into such farther Measures, for the defence of our present Establishment, as the Wisdom of the House shall think fit, provided they be such as are allow'd of, by the Rules of that Holy Religion I profess.

I think it may not be amiss to enquire into the State of Jacobitism amongst us, and prepare such further Securities as are allowable for our Defence; I mean not Assassinations, Associations, nor to set a price by a Law on the Head of any Man; such Measures I am not satisfy'd are agreeable to the Doctrine of Christianity, and look upon 'em likewise to be very Impolitick, which will rather exasperate our Enemies than do us any real Service.

We may enquire into the Correspondence which the Pretender to these Crowns,

Crowns, holds with some of the King's conforming Subjects; who I am confident are more to blame herein, than those unhappy Nonjurors, who separated from the Church of *England*. As for them, their Numbers are very small they have scarce from Hand to Mouth, and are rather to be pitied than molested, since by their quiet Behaviour they give us no manner of Disturbance. But as for those who take the Oaths, and bind them on their Souls in that solemn manner, and that immediately after receiving the Holy Sacrament; I own I think their Offence is of so deep a dye, if any should be found who engage in such Rebellious Practices, that they will stand Self-condeinn'd and Perjur'd Wretches, by the Judgment of their own Consciences, when they give themselves leave to consider, that complicated heighth of Hypocrisy and Baseness, which such double Dealing is attended with: And they must be proof against the Terrors of Heaven, as well as the Laws of the Land, who allow themselves, upon mature Consideration, such Latitude in their Behaviour. But,

I am satisfied such Persons do not consider what Interest they serve, by this way of proceeding; and that, should ever

ever the Pretender come to this Throne, especially by a Popish Power and Confederacy, which is talk'd of so much, we should have many Difficulties to get over, which are not now thought of by the generality of the World. Which rational Objection join'd to those legal Objections I already mention'd, have made me lay down this as a very substantial Remark.

XIV. *Remark.* That whoever promotes the Interest of the Pretender is an Enemy to the Church of *England*, as by Law Establish'd, (besides what we before Remark'd, That he is an Enemy to the King, and a Violater of his Oaths, &c.) and out of Regard to the Church of *England*, whose Liberties, as well as Doctrines, I am resolv'd to maintain, I will not countenance or encourage in any wise these underhand Enemies to its Rights and Privileges.

That we may the better understand the meaning of this Remark, I must refer you to the foregoing Observations, wherein mention is made of those Gentlemen who separated from the Church of *England* upon account of the Oaths to King *William*, &c. which I am not for repeating here; and tho' it must be allow-

allowed they also are Enemies to the present Establishment, yet they being open Enemies, and that but a handful of Men, I do not look upon them with an apprehension of much Danger from them; our Danger, if any, is from some pretended Conformists, who, to outward appearance, are in the Communion of our Church, and yet espouse their Cause, either thro' Ignorance or Design. Now if the Nonjurors are in the right, and we the Schismatics, why do not they join them? But, if We are the True Church, its easy to demonstrate, that they are the Schismatics; and he is a Transgressor who stands up in their Defence, whilst he continues amongst us.

Let no Man, therefore, pretend he is a true Son of the Church of *England*, who stands up in Defence of these Separatists: For as these Persons have constantly calumniated the Church of *England* with the opprobious Titles of *Schismatics*, &c. so, I assure you, they make no manner of Scruple to object against us as *Heretics*; and particularly when I was last in Town, a Friend of mine assured me, that a certain Gentleman, whose Labours in the Polemic kind, have been much regarded by the World of late Years,

Years, was pleas'd to assert, (in his hearing) That the whole Conforming Body of the Church of *England*, were, upon the three first Canons, *ipso facto*, Excommunicated, for not acknowledging the King's Supremacy, &c. Let this one Notion of these Persons be persu'd to the Consequences, which are naturally, as well as logically deducible from it; and it must appear very shocking to every considering Man, as it did to my Friend, when he heard it. Possibly it might proceed from the natural Heat of this Gentleman, who, as my Friend informs me, is somewhat addicted to Passion, very positive and self-sufficient; and, tho' an excellent Reasoner in some Points which he has carefully examin'd, yet very apt to take many Things *pro Confesso*, without Examination, and to press Consequences to the utmost from some absurd Postulata, as if every thing he laid down was to be admitted of. But suppose this was only his private Sentiment, (tho' I believe he spoke the Sence of the *Old Nonjurors*) what can we say to another Point, which most sensibly will affect our Bishops and the whole Body of the Clergy; and that is, if they have perpetuated their Separation, by a new Consecration of Persons who were

not

not Bishops before the Revolution, as it is reasonable to believe they have; what Method of Coalition can be possibly devised, which will not oblige one side entirely to submit to the other, and own themselves to have been in the wrong all this while? And do we think the Non-jurors will do this? Will they impute such a manifest Schism, (not to say Heresy, as they call it) to themselves, and transmit their Names to Posterity under such a disgraceful Representation? I am very confident they will not; besides, we know not how they have already disposed of our Bishopricks, and other Dignities in the Church. I desire the Clergy of *England* in particular, wou'd well weigh and consider this Matter, and all those who are willing to be thought their Friends, and speciously represent themselves as such. And let me assure you, that as I have not done these Persons any Injustice in this Representation, neither am I for using them with Cruelty, for the weakness of their Consciences, or the misguided Notions they adhere to. Whatever can be pleaded for the Toleration of the Presbyterians, may with infinitely greater Reason be urged for these Men, who have given such undeniable Instances of Sincerity in their Beha-

Behaviour, in the ready Dispositions they have shewn to forsake all that is dear to them in this Life, when Obedience (as they thought) to the Law and the Gospel required it: And I do from the bottom of my Soul commiserate their unhappy Circumstances, but will not betray the Church of *England* for their Advantage, no more than I can think, my self obliged to Rob on the High-Way, that I might have wherewithal to relieve their Wants: I only lay open, both to themselves and others, the State of the Church of *England* with Regard to them, upon the Principles before laid down in my Observations; which, cou'd I think wrongfully deduced, and that I have done Injustice to these Persons, by representing them as guilty of the Schism which they charge upon us, I wou'd repent by the severest Methods of Penance, and embrace the Truth, if they cou'd give me Satisfaction that they are in possession of it. But this, as I am satisfied it belongs not to them, so have I endeavoured by a digression to inform my fellow-Subjects of; that Prejudice may neither be done to our Excellent Church, by our Ignorance of the Foundation it's Establish'd upon, or under-

mined by these misguided unhappy Brethren; whom I am willing to think better of, than to impute their present Separation, either to Obsturacy, or the Passions of Hope, or fear of Shame,

I have not here mention'd the Resumption of Abby Lands, which will attend the Pretender's coming to the Throne by a Popish Power, because I look upon the very Supposition to be the greatest degree of Nonsense and Absurdity imaginable; we have no Dangers to apprehend from a foreign Power, and if we can but keep our own pretended Members, from any Rebellion of that sort, this present King's Throne is establish'd and the Right to the Crown after him in his Illustrious Family, upon such an immovable Foundation, that I hope Providence will never permit its Destruction by his own Subjects, and I can apprehend no manner of Danger from any other Quarter: And let not a Faction on the other side, be daily objecting against us, for endeavouring to preserve our Constitution in Church and State, that we are Enemies to the Government and Advocates for Popery and the Pretender. As for the Pretender, I have already acquitted the true Sons of the Church

Church of *England* from any Favour towards him ; and as for Popery, I know they who throw this Calumny on the Church, do not believe it themselves. For, from the knowledge of the Inclination of the People of *England*, which I am sure, for these twenty Years last past, have been more for Irreligion than Superstition, I as soon expect to see the King of *France* sitting on the Throne in the House of Lords at *Westminster*, as ever to see Popery so much as tolerated by a Law in *England*. It's possible, and that's all, in one case as well as the other ; but whenever it is Tolerated, I am certain it soon will be Established ; which GOD of his Mercy prevent.

XV. *Remark.* But lastly, I remark positively, that these very Remarks will be unacceptable to two different Parties of Men amongst us. The one, such as think King *James* the Second deserved to be resisted, and expelled his Kingdoms for his Male-Administration, and that he ceased to be a King of *England*, when he dispensed with the Laws, and broke, as they adjudged it, his Coronation Oath ; under which Head may be ranked those who are Enemies to Monarchy

narchy and Episcopacy in general, the Dissenters of all kinds, the mistaken Sons of the Church of *England*, called *Whigs*; and those of any Denomination who disregard the Publick Interest, and postpone it to their private Designs and Advantages: These Persons will exclaim against this Tract, as misrepresenting Matters otherwise than they really are, and making groundless Remarks full of unbecoming Insinuations; but this being Matter of Fact let it answer for it self. The other sort of Men to whom these Remarks will be offensive, are such as have a value for Monarchy and Episcopacy, yet submit not to our present Establishment; as the professed Nonjurors, who refuse the Oaths; and those of our Church who take them, but notwithstanding all the pretended Instances of Conformity to our Church, do underhand promote and advance the Interest of the Pretender, and stand up in Defence of the Nonjurors.

Now there being so many who, according to a rational Conjecture, will oppose these Truths, and dislike the Contents of this Treatise, I have but a very indifferent prospect of Satisfaction, since I am likely to please so few who will

will agree with me in what I have wrote on ; but I am thankful, they are the best and most upright Men in the whole Kingdom, and the only true Sons of the Church of *England*, in whose Defence I have Compiled this Apology. That I might therefore briefly address my self, here at the close, to the several Parties concern'd, I will take leave to range them under this threefold Acceptation.

First, I will address my self to the Advocates for Resistance, the Dissenters of all kinds, and those who are for making their private Advantages, without any regard to the Publick Interest. As to entring into the Debate with you on these Points, I think it very needless, after what I have so largely spoke to you already. I shall only desire you to reflect on the Historical part, and know whether what I have said be Matter of Fact or not. We are not unacquainted with the Reasons why you establish the Revolution, and the Subsequent Settlement upon the Ruins of that Obedience to our Governours, which the Laws of God and our Legislature have enjoin'd; as to the Premises which you lay down, that this Doctrine is contra-

dictory to corrupt, wilful Nature, and a violence offer'd to our dearest Inclinations, I readily agree with you ; but deny this unwarrantable Inference which you all make, That therefore we may cast off this Restraint: For I consider who they are who enjoin it, and Satisfaction in that one point is all I require. As to you, who are not of us, but amongst us, we are satisfied, you as much rejoice in the Ruin of this Establish'd Church, and the Divisions amongst us, which are occasion'd hereby, as any of Popish or Jesuitical Extraction; and you take the same Methods to foment Animosities and Disturbances which they do. We can't therefore expect, that you will give into any Measures, how true soever, which vindicate the Church of *England*, in the Business of the Revolution, whilst it maintains such Doctrines as lay Restraints on our unruly Appetites, and condemn by Insinuation your Parents and Founders, who had so large a share in the Great Rebellion, or in any subsequent Oppositions to the Lawful Commands of Authority. As for all Plunderers of the Publick, and those who disregard any Means for promoting the Interest and Good of their Country, but

but what contribute largely to the filling of their own Coffers, I do not wonder that you should be displeased at the Intent I pursue, in the foregoing Remarks. Wherein I have declared my self ready and prepared to oppose all such Measures as tend to the Prejudice of the Nation, either in the Rights of the Crown or the People.

But, *Secondly*, the second sort of Persons I am to address myself to, shall be the *Jacobites*; either those who separate from us, because they cannot join in the Prayers with us, which our Liturgy appoints; and in taking the Oaths to the Government; or those who are pretendedly off our Communion, yet either refuse to take the Oaths, or if they do take them, do notwithstanding promote the Interest of the Pretender, and are in reality Enemies to this Establishment.

Now to you Gentlemen, who went off, soon after the Revolution, from the Church of *England*, and continue your Separation to this Day: I have very little Grounds, I own, openly to tax you with Insincerity, since what you acted at that time, was thought to be in pursuance of the Dictates of your Judgment

and Consciences, by all those who did conform. Nor am I now entring upon a formal Discussion of those Arguments, for and against you, which occur'd to my Mind, in the Historical Account I have given of that Time, or those Remarks I have made on the present state of Affairs. What I have before laid to your Charge, I declare I think is strictly just and true; I am sure I intended no other; nor can you in reason think, that its with a design to invoke the displeasure of our Governours, and to engage them to lay heavier Burdens on you than what is consistent with the Tenderness every Christian ought to shew to such as you, who dissent from us through weakness of Conscience only, and *do not offend of malicious Wickedness*, as we have reason to believe some other Dissenters do. As my Design is to attempt the Security of this present Government, which I judge becoming me; as far as is within the compass of my Power; so I hope the same Dispositions abovemention'd, will engage you to think favourably of me, and rather impute what I have urged, to my Zeal for the Truth, and my Christian

Christian Compassion for you, than any
Ill-will to your Persons.

But as for those who conform pretendedly with the Church of *England*, and do not pray for the present King ; I think I have already said so much before, against this hypocritical Behaviour, as will convince every Man of Sincerity, who is either misguided in this Matter, by the Arguments or Behaviour of some Great Persons who have done so. But for you who take the Oaths, and so solemnly after the receiving the Holy Sacrament, have abjured the Pretender, and pray for the present King, I profess I think no Words capable of expressing the Heinousness, the Impiety, and Falshood of such Behaviour. You maintain the Doctrine of Obedience, which the Law and the Gospel require, in your Words ; but are not such Actions as I charge you with, a contradiction to that Profession ? you justly accuse all such who took up Arms against King *James*, and urge against them, that they shou'd have had a dependance on Providence, who, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, delivered us from much greater Evils ; and are you

for

for acting a much worse Part yourselves, since you allow of the present Government, and have sworn Allegiance and Obedience to it? I hope there are not many concern'd in this Censure; but let them be assur'd, that none of such Actions are acceptable to the Fountain of Truth, nor agreeable to the plain, sincere, and generous Temper of the Gospel: and upon the Principles which these Men generally hold, no Superstructure raised upon the Rebelling against Lawful Authority, can be of a lasting Continuance, by reason of the Curse annexed to it.

Thirdly and Lastly, I am now to apply myself to a third sort of Men amongst us, who are the only true Sons of the Church of *England*, and from whom alone I expect the present Treatise will meet with a candid and a generous Reception. For tho' I have neglected them all this while, and omitted till the last my formal Address to them, yet I hope I may, without Vanity, say, that by a strict adherence to my own Doctrine, I have proved my self of their Number, and given a short Transcript of their Senti-

Sentiments, in the delivery of my own. I shall therefore only here call on you, for promoting the Interest of our most excellent Constitution, in the several Methods, the Stations you are in can best capacitate you to do it. If the present Treatise be agreeable to Truth, as I leave it to your selves to enquire; and if the Remarks on our Divisions are agreeable to right Reason, and the Interest we pursue; I shall think, what little time I have spent in the Composition to be well employed; and have hopes that GOD may add strength to my weak Endeavours, by reason of the Sincerity which first engaged them. As for Enemies, I know and have distinguished them already, and do believe they will readily unite, to confute, if possible, the Arguments, and even the very Facts brought against them. We very well know the Inducements of each Side, to give a wrong Turn to the Principles we justify the Revolution upon; the one Side says, it was founded upon *Resistance*, by way of precedent for Rebellion, when they think fit to make themselves Judges of their Prince's Behaviour, and when, according to them, He is to be opposed, and that with Honour and Glory, for

for exceeding the Bounds of his Commission. The other Side say, It was founded upon *Resistance*, by way of Reflection on the Church of *England*, who acknowledges the Doctrine of *Resistance* to be contrary to our Religion and our Laws; and likewise to magnify themselves, who refuse to submit to the subsequent Establishment, pretending it to have been founded thereon. But as I have guarded myself by Truth, kept within the Bounds of Respect to my Superiors, and preserved a Christian Disposition to all such who dissent from me, I am the less sollicitous, what can be urged against me, from the known Enemies of our Establishment, whose Tempers I am acquainted with, and have Grounds to expect the severest Treatment from.

I have thus, Sir, run over the several Reigns since the *Great Rebellion*, and have not scrupled to allow our Enemies what they can with Truth, or even Plausibility, urge for themselves; well knowing what a mighty Prejudice it is to a good Cause, to build any thing of Moment on a false Foundation, or colour over and disguise what may be thought its Faults. For which Reason, and no other,

I have,

I have, in the Language of those Men, and with the sincerity of an Historian, deliver'd my self with great Plainness in the Case of the *Pretender's* being the Son of K. *James*, the Affair of the *Revolution*, &c. I have not indeed troubled you with proper References to confirm what I have said, because I have endeavour'd all possible Brevity, and the most compendious Enlargement I cou'd devise. Nor have I thought it needful to insist on the several *Acts* which have incapacitated the *Pretender* from enjoying the Crown of *England*, as being a *Papist*, and in the Eye of the Legislature reputed an *Impostor*, &c. All which, with the proper Inferences, wou'd have swell'd this Letter to an unreasonable Size, and wou'd be rather entring into a *Controversy*, than acting the Part of an *Historian*. As for the *Remarks*, I hope, and am confident, that I have kept within the bounds of my Duty therein, both to my *King* and his *Administration*, and have the Vanity to think them agreeable to His *Interest*, and the Good of our excellent *Constitution*, both in Church and State. So that I have nothing more to add, but to assure you of great Sincerity in my Designs, unbias'd Truth in my Relation, and an honest and well-meaning endeavour to

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compose our present unchristian, illegal, and dangerous Animosities; and am, Sir, with the utmost Friendship and Respect,

Your affectionate humble Servant, &c.

Postscript.

I Am this Moment inform'd, that the House, contrary to my Expectations, meet the 17th to do Business, I have appointed my Tenants, &c. to attend me the 25th, with a design to put my Concerns under such a Regulation, that I may attend the Business of the Nation the whole Summer, if we shou'd be oblig'd to sit so long, as we have been threaten'd; so that I can't possibly expect to see you before the 30th Instant. If therefore you shou'd think fit to publish what I have wrote, I hope you will correct my Faults, and range what I have hastily set down, into some tolerable Method; for I set a just value on the Advice of *Pythagoras*,

Rara sit objurgatio tua, sed simplex & opportuna.

F I N I S.

